



F

436

.D55

Author

Title

Imprint



ADDRESS

OF

J. M. DICKINSON.

THE CENTENNIAL

OF THE ADMISSION

OF

THE STATE OF TENNESSEE

INTO THE UNION.



DELIVERED AT NASHVILLE, TENN.,

JUNE 1, 1896.

F 436

. II 55

Given
Mrs. W. A. Abbott
May 19, 22

22

ADDRESS.

On June 1, 1796, George Washington approved the act which made Tennessee the sixteenth State in the Federal Union.

The cession by North Carolina to the United States of the territory embraced in Tennessee provided for its Statehood, but there was strong opposition to admission at that time in both houses of Congress.

The settlers of Tennessee were imbued with a constant and all-controlling idea of law and order as an expression of local government.

They were irrepressible constitution makers. Wherever they established their settlements, they hardly took time to build their houses before they set about constructing a system of government.

And so, when the time approached for shedding the chrysalis condition of a territorial government, and putting on the larger life of Statehood they, following this bent, and also profiting by the experience of Kentucky, which had repeatedly been rebuffed, anticipated the action of Congress, took their own census, adopted a constitution, elected a Legislature and Governor and inaugurated him, passed laws dividing the State into congressional districts, elected Congressmen and Senators and presidential electors, and were in the exercise of the full functions of a State for a month before the bill for admission came up in either house of Congress. And what seems almost audacious, her Senators presented their credentials, and asked admission to the United States Senate before the act was passed.

It is apparent that even then the question of balance of power between the States was a potent, though not an avowed factor.

Vermont, the first accession to the original thirteen States, admitted in 1791, was an assured non-slaveholding State, though she did not extinguish slavery by constitutional provision until 1793.

Kentucky was admitted in 1792.

Tennessee, a slave territory, next offered, and her admission was the only departure from the system of alternating slave and free States, which was unbroken up to the admission of Missouri in 1821.

It is a significant fact that, when the test came in the House of Representatives, every member who voted from New England was recorded in the opposition, except Israel Smith, of Vermont.

Party interest was a strong undercurrent, for the Federalists opposed the admission, knowing that the electoral vote of Tennessee would certainly be cast for Jefferson.

William B. Giles, Robert Rutherford, Nathaniel Macon, Albert Gallatin and James Madison were earnest advocates of her admission.

Mr. Madison said :

“The inhabitants of that district of country were at present in a degraded condition ; they were deprived of a right essential to freemen—the right of being represented in Congress. Laws were made without their consent, or by their consent in part only. An exterior power had authority over their laws ; an exterior authority appointed their executive, which was not analogous to the other parts of the United States, and not justified by anything but an obvious and imperious necessity.”*

Mr. Rutherford said :

“He did not wish to cavil with this brave, generous people. He would have them taken out of leading strings, as they were now able to stand alone ; it was time to take them by the hand and to say we are glad to see you stand on your own feet. We should not, he said, be too nice about their turning out their toes, or other trifles ; they will soon march lustily along. They had complied with every requisite for becoming a State of the Union—they wished to form an additional star in the political hemisphere

*An. 4th Cong., p. 1309.

of the United States—they have erected a State Government and wish to come into the Union, and to resist their claim would be out of character.” *

It is pleasing to note that every one of these names has been worthily commemorated in our State.

The opposition to admission raised a storm of indignation among those hardy pioneers, who had, by their personal prowess, courage and sufferings, won and held the Western frontier, with no aid, even in the darkest hours of their trials, from the Atlantic population.

If Congress interposed vexatious delay, not so the immortal Washington, for he approved the bill on the day following its passage.

General satisfaction and joy hailed the announcement of their admission into the Union.

In July John Sevier, the Governor of the new State, said in a message to the General Assembly:

“I have the pleasure of announcing to you gentlemen the admission of the State of Tennessee into the Federal Union, a circumstance pregnant with every prospect of peace, happiness and opulence to our infant State.

The period has at length arrived when the people of the Southwestern Territory may enjoy all the blessings and liberties of a free and independent republic.”

To this the Legislature replied in terms expressive of the profoundest satisfaction at the bright future which this momentous event vouchsafed.

These expressions of felicitation and joyful anticipations were not rhetorical platitudes. These men were not coiners of well-turned or glittering phrases, to catch the ear or please the fancy.

Most of them had experienced the hardships of frontier life, the abandonment by North Carolina, the uncertainties and vexations of tentative governments, the complications of the dual sovereignties of North Carolina and the State of Franklin, and the dependency of territorial existence. They were harrassed with the uncertainty of land titles, and, though scarred veterans, looked with dread upon the ominous mutterings that came from hoards of bloodthirsty

*An. 4th Cong., p. 1313.

savages, all too close, and stimulated by Spanish intrigue.

No one can doubt that they uttered sober words of earnest conviction when they said to the Governor:

"We rejoice with you in the event of this State being formally admitted into the Federal Union, and our minds are filled with the most pleasing sensations when we reflect on the prosperity and political happiness to which we view it as a certain prelude."

The loyal sons and daughters of this great commonwealth, inspired by that intense love of State which has always been a resplendent quality in Tennesseans, and which will never abate, unless we become degenerates and apostates from the faith of the fathers are assembled to commemorate that auspicious day.

We have come, citizens by birth and citizens by adoption, of all religions, creeds, and all political parties, secessionists and unionists, Federal and Confederate, to celebrate the admission of Tennessee into the Federal Union, and in that act, notwithstanding the differences which once rent us asunder, and were upheld without regard to cost of blood and treasure, differences in regard to which our convictions are unaltered, differences which have been settled forever by constitutional changes accepted in good and abiding faith, to proclaim to the world, without reserve, our perfect joy, that Tennessee is to-day an indestructible State of an indestructible Union, that Union which our fathers helped to establish, that Union which has for its national emblem the stars and stripes, which Tennesseans have so often borne to bloody victory, and, by this historic occasion, to transmit to our children and all posterity, the trust of maintaining constitutional liberty, that a hundred years hence may be renewed this solemn rite, within a Union of preserved integrity, composed of States whose uneclipsed stars have suffered no diminution in their magnitude.

The self-sacrificing and heroic men who made the epoch we celebrate discharged their high trust in their day and generation ably and faithfully, created a State, endowed it with great potentialities and maintained it in a career of honor, prosperity and greatness.

Under conditions more complex, exigencies more momentous, demanding a patriotism as unselfish, a courage as unfaltering and a judgment that must confront governmental problems evolved by the march of civilization and vitalized by social forces, long dormant, but now aroused and aggressive, we bear the trust of to-day.

Where we stand was once the seat of a dense population of unknown people of remote antiquity, who vanished from the earth, leaving no record to tell whence they came, what they achieved and what were their institutions. Why they disappeared is a matter of faint tradition and vague conjecture. Whether they themselves planted and nourished the seeds of decay and perished because they were unworthy of existence, or whether a braver or more powerful people swept them into oblivion, we do not know.

Nature reconquered her own, almost obliterating the memorials of this ancient race, so that but little more than a hundred years ago the expanse of country where the eye is now dazzled and the soul uplifted by the magnificent creations of a refined civilization, was undisturbed by man, except by the hunting parties of the neighboring Indians.

Standing upon the graves of an extinct people, we, who have passed but a hundred years of State life, which is but a span as compared with the existence of races and governments which have risen, flourished, decayed and disappeared, may well turn aside from our stirring pursuits to consider the foundations upon which our commonwealth rests, the character and purposes of the men who established it, the principles which have directed our progress, and from these take our reckoning, that we may the better pursue those lines which will tend to perpetuate our institutions, with increasing usefulness and honor.

God grant that we may attain a full sense of the awful responsibility resting upon us, and that we may so discharge it that a hundred years hence, history shall not record the Commonwealth of Tennessee among those governments that have only a past, or, if the State survive, that posterity shall not stand where we stand to-day, to execrate our memory, and charge a decadence upon our unfaithfulness. What higher inspiration could we have than that which comes from

the lives and public services of our forefathers, who wrought the fabric which has endured with increasing strength for a hundred years? We need not look beyond the qualities illustrated by them to learn what we must cherish to make a State beneficent and enduring.

Let those who have no past, no history, no traditions, no distinguished men, no patriots, search the records of other countries for their exemplars.

The history of Tennessee, from its very beginning, is affluent with the names of illustrious men, whose lives were the expression of great moral and intellectual forces, directed by pure patriotism. In calling her roll of honor we are touched with no sense of regret, except that in such an august presence we fain would hide our own diminished heads.

They are our Lares, and while we are gathered to offer them incense and libation and deck their altars with garlands of violets and rosemary, let us impress upon our minds and hearts their lives and public services, and make them our own, so that though incorporeal, their spirits shall abide with us as a real presence, and that they, as Ajax of old in the place always left vacant for his spirit in the ranks of the Greeks, shall seem to march by our sides to inspire and aid us. And who can doubt, if the dead can revisit the scenes of their earthly love, that they at this moment, with a gaze that penetrates the veil that hides our secret motives and convictions from each other, are about us, approving all we say and do for our country's good, and scorning all who desecrate this day by seeking selfish ends?

And in what an imposing assembly do we stand, surrounded by that radiant company of men, who created the era we celebrate! With reverential awe we salute them.

James Robertson, the mighty hunter, the patriarch of the Watauga and founder of the Cumberland settlement. Though without "a noble lineage to boast of, and the escutcheoned armorials of a splendid ancestry," his heroic life revealed a nobility under a patent sealed by a higher source than earthly potentate. Indebted to his wife for elementary instruction, he discharged successfully responsibilities, many and varied, requiring knowledge, wisdom and diplomacy.

Born in Virginia in 1742, he left North Carolina in 1770, and crossing alone the Appalachian Mountains came to the lovely valley of the Watauga. By his memorable defense of Watauga fort he achieved a renown which, if he had done nothing else, would make him immortal in the history of Tennessee. He was one of the founders of the Watauga Government in May, 1772, which had the first written constitution adopted by American freemen. Alone he followed the great war trace to the Cherokee towns, entrusted himself to the Indians aroused by outrage to fierce hostilities, and by the weight of his character, his dauntless courage and address, averted a bloody war.

He rendered distinguished services in the battle of Kanawha, prevented by his overmastering will the abandonment of the settlement at Nashville, to replenish their exhausted supply of powder heroically crossed alone the mountains and ran the gauntlet of hostile savages, saved by his alertness and valor the garrison of Fort Freeland, fought the battle of the Bluffs in 1781, which assured the existence of the Cumberland settlement, led the invasion of the Indian country, and achieved the victory of Coldwater.

He was the leading spirit in forming the self-constituted government in 1780, Chairman of Committee of Arbitrators, North Carolina Indian Commissioner, member and Chairman of Committee of Notables, member of the General Assembly of North Carolina from Davidson County in 1787, appointed by Washington in 1790 Brigadier General for the Mero District and wounded in an Indian engagement in 1792. He organized and directed the famous Nickajack expedition in 1794, and was Trustee of Davidson College. He closed his eventful life in 1814 at the Chickasaw Agency and in the service of his country.

Throughout the fourteen years of constant war which raged on the Cumberland, in which that frontier people endured hardships, dangers and sufferings, unsurpassed by any people of any time, his wisdom and courage were always conspicuous.

In the life of James Robertson is recorded the early civil, political and military history of Tennessee.

Shame upon the State, shame upon us all, that the re-

commendation made by Gov. Carroll in 1827 has never been carried out, and that no statue of this heroic man adorns the entrance to our capitol, to inspire in the youth of the land a noble emulation of his patriotic life. If not there, then let it be set up in the capitol of the nation, to challenge comparison with the honored representatives of other States.

If he had lived in England, Old or New, his deeds would have been immortalized in deathless song, his form and lineaments fixed in living marble or uncorroding bronze.

May the patriotic fervor of this centennial year not spend itself in clamor and parade, but rather may we bring to the memory of the past a true and earnest worship that will not cease until Tennessee shall have her "Hall of Fame" tenanted by similitudes of her immortals.

By Robertson stands John Sevier, born in Virginia in 1744, of Huguenot ancestry, one of the famous founders of Watauga, Clerk of the Watauga Commissioners, a member from the District of Washington of the Provincial Congress at Halifax in 1776, a hero of Kings Mountain, a memorable service commemorated by North Carolina by presentation of a sword and pistols, made Colonel by North Carolina in 1780, fought in the same year the battle of Boyd's Creek, one of the hardest contests in the border wars of Tennessee, and saved the settlements from a bloody invasion, President of the convention assembled at Jonesboro in 1784 to provide for the public safety, after the cession act of North Carolina, while the United States had not accepted the territory, and the country was a political orphan, one of the founders and the Governor of the State of Franklin, elected a member of the Cincinnati in 1787, first member of Congress from the great valley of the Mississippi, member of the General Assembly of the Territory of the United States south of the Ohio in 1794, author of the bill in the Territorial Assembly which in 1795 established Washington College, first Governor of Tennessee, which office he held for twelve years, again elected to Congress, representing the Knoxville district, appointed by Washington to establish an Indian boundary in Alabama, elected to Congress for the third time and without his

knowledge, a victor in thirty-five battles, who never received compensation for but one of all the campaigns in which he served, died in the Creek Nation while on public service, and was buried with the honors of war.

Such is a brief but incomplete epitome of the life of this remarkable man.

The brilliant Phelan says: "Of all whose fame was attained within the limits of this State, the most illustrious, the most conspicuous, the one whose name was and deserves to be the most resplendent was John Sevier."*

May the day never come when the youth of Tennessee shall be so recreant to the memory of those who made her history glorious, as to cease to enthuse at the mention of the name of John Sevier, ardent, impulsive, energetic, fluent in speech, wise in council, gentle in peace, a thunderbolt in war, the large-hearted, generous man, who exercised that hospitality of which we are so boastful, but which, alas! is becoming almost traditional, of whom it might be said as Homer wrote of Axylus:

"And greatly was he loved, for courteously
He welcomed to his house, beside the way,
All comers."

Joseph McMinn, a man of sound education, a farmer from Pennsylvania, a soldier of the Revolutionary War, member of the lower house of the territorial government embracing Tennessee, Speaker of the Senate in 1807, three times Governor of Tennessee, and the first person to give an impetus to the movement which resulted in the improvement of the navigation of our rivers.

Wm. Cocke, one of the earliest pioneers, a brilliant orator, who pursued a distinguished and honorable career, a member of the Jonesboro convention, commissioner of North Carolina, a member of the lower house of the State Territorial government, and one of the first United States Senators from Tennessee.

John McNairy, a learned lawyer, and one of the first Judges of Tennessee.

Archibald Roane, one of the first Judges of Tennessee, Governor in 1801, and the preceptor of Hugh L. White.

* History of Tennessee, 249-50.

Wm. Blount, of distinguished lineage, a friend of Washington, refined in manner, accomplished in oratory, lavish in hospitality, an avowed aristocrat, stately, dignified and courtly, territorial Governor of Tennessee, one of the two first Senators sent by Tennessee to the United States Senate, who, however much his national fame was obscured, Tennesseans will always remember gratefully, and honor for his distinguished services to the State.

James White, of Scotch-Irish descent, founder of Knoxville, and always distinguished as the father of Hugh L. White, whose career has shed such lustre upon Tennessee.

Greatest of them all is Andrew Jackson, a soldier in battle at the age of 14, attorney for the Western district of North Carolina, first Congressman from Tennessee, United States Senator at the age of 30, Supreme Judge of Tennessee at 33, Major-General of Tennessee, led volunteers at the first outbreak of the war of 1812, and though suffering painfully from a wound hastened with his command to Natchez, relieved the sufferings of his troops with \$5,000 advanced from his own purse, the prospect of war having disappeared in that quarter, offered his services to Washington, and proposed to increase his forces and plant the American flag on the walls of Malden, made Brigadier General of the United States in 1814, successfully conducted, with never failing victory, the Creek war, the most terrible Indian war in our annals, and by it gave to the Union, Alabama, part of Mississippi, part of Tennessee, and the highway to the Floridas, planted the American flag upon the Spanish fortress of Barrancas, hastened to the relief of New Orleans, and humbled the pride of the British lion by the most signal victory in the annals of history, in 1817 marched against the Seminoles and pursued them into Spanish territory, placed the American eagle on St. Marks and above the ancient towers of St. Augustine, Governor of Florida in 1821, again elected to the United States Senate, twice President of the United States, and the canonized patron saint of the oldest existing political party.

Courtliest to women, most dominating among men, he charmed the one and ruled the other. Fierce in passion, yet tender in heart, he turned aside in the midst of the car-

nage of battle to take up and place in safety an Indian babe clinging to the bosom of its dead mother. Exalting the blessings of peace, yet he could be so stirred by the joy of battle as to exclaim at New Orleans:

"Welcome thou first visitor from a British mortar, long have I sought to meet you—now is our day of reckoning."

Though imbued with Democratic simplicity, yet, because they were the expression of the sovereignty of the people, he exalted the offices he held, and demanded for them, and enforced obedience and respect. Undazzled by the glare which beat about the pinnacle of fame which he reached, and loyal to the sentiments, which he believed to be the life of free institutions, he declined to accept the marble sarcophagus of Septimus Severus, which was tendered, that it might in due time receive the form of one whose illustrious deeds had filled the world, saying that it was not becoming that the ashes of a republican should repose in what had been fashioned to receive the body of an emperor.

Punctilious as to his personal reputation, he was no less sensitive to that of his country, and when the French Government intimated that an apology from him as President would avert complications, he replied :

"The honor of my country shall never be stained by an apology from me for the statement of truth and the performance of duty."

The fleeting years have not dimmed the memory of him, nor obscured his greatness. More than any other man, his personality has been impressed upon the American people.

Whenever a great crisis comes, when unassailable integrity, indomitable will, unflinching courage, and a patriotism that has no sense of self are wanted, the minds of all turn to him with one accord, and they exclaim, "Would there were now an Andrew Jackson."

He of all men presented to the world the most inexorable will, the most resolute heart :

"From orbs convulsed should all the planets fly,
World rush on world and ocean mix with sky ;
He unconcerned would view the falling whole ;
And still maintain the purpose of his soul."

These, with the exception of Sevier, were some of the men who composed the constitutional convention of 1796.

While Sevier was not a member of the convention, he was then the foremost man of the time and influenced its proceedings.

Of them Mr. Bancroft said :

“They came together full of faith and reverence, of love to humanity, of confidence in truth. In the simplicity of wisdom they framed their constitution ; acting under higher influences than they were conscious of.

They wrought in sad sincerity,
Themselves from God they could not free ;
They builded better than they knew ;
The conscious stones to beauty grew.” *

They are but types of their associates, and were exponents of the sentiments, principles and forces that distinguished the period we commemorate. They alone neither made the State, nor constituted its strength. With them stood others too numerous to name on this occasion, whose lives were generously devoted to the work that was accomplished.

Close up to them was ranged a constituency, which, in their general characteristics, approximated their leaders more nearly than has been the case at any subsequent period of our history. It is a significant fact that of the 112 names affixed to a petition and remonstrance from Watauga settlement in 1776, to North Carolina, all but two were written by the parties themselves. †

They founded a State in the wilderness, and made that epoch in our history which we celebrate to-day.

What cardinal principles did they illustrate and impress upon the Government they created? What did they consider necessary for securing happiness, prosperity, strength and endurance?

We are not at a loss to answer these questions. They stand out with emphatic prominence in their history. Unlike most of our other settlements, they preceded government, and took no constituted authority with them. No people with such primitive surroundings ever turned with more direct and intense purpose to the establishment of a

* Eulogies of Jackson, p. 36.

† Ramsey, p. 138.

social system on a solid basis, and assuring its expansion and permanence by a recognition and practical application of those forces which always tend to larger life, increasing power and stability.

Religious faith, the substratum and living force in all social order, freedom of religion, the first flower of liberty, education, the imponderable, unseen, but potent and immeasurable power, which vitalizes and uplifts society and endows its possessors, whether individuals or nations, with superior advantages in the sharp conflict of life, patriotism, which, with altruistic devotion, effaces self and sacrifices personal advantage to the public good, economy in the administration of public affairs, the preservation of order and the enforcement of law, the democratic principle which allows the largest liberty to the individual consistent with social order, these composed the constellation of vivifying and conserving principles which they illustrated, and which have been the source of all our greatness.

Religion.

With the rifle in one hand and the Bible in the other, they crossed the Appalachian Mountains. The churches and the block-houses were coeval. Church organization and church government preceded and furnished the inspiration, and, in a large sense, the model for their social compacts. They held their religious services with their trusty weapons at hand in their rude churches, and literally obeyed the divine injunction of "Watch and pray." No one can doubt that they were sustained and soothed in their hardships, dangers, sufferings and bereavements by a devotion and faith that admitted no materialistic theories, ever extended the horizon of what they wrought for, beyond the limitations of a narrow selfishness, and inspiring them with the conviction:

" 'Tis not all of life to live
Nor all of death to die,"

nerved them for that heroism displayed, not in bursts of enthusiasm, amidst the flourish of martial trumpets, with the world looking on to applaud or condemn, but in obscurity, with constancy and patience, throughout a longer

period than the Trojan war, or the march of the ten thousand, or our struggle for independence, with no assurance that their achievements would find a chronicler, or that the memory of their self-sacrifice would be enshrined in the hearts of a grateful posterity. The religious atmosphere in which our infant State drew its first inspirations exerted an influence more potent than all others in shaping the ideas which have controlled our social organization.

The church spiritual was the church militant, and in those stirring conflicts it was the church triumphant.

As the Metropolitans in the Caucasus girded the sword, and led their flocks against Tamerlane and the invaders who threatened their faith, so did these pious pioneers of religion inspire and lead—and often to death—this advance guard of Christian civilization.

Of the men who planted religion in Tennessee, and who were the leaders and inspiration of the time, were those learned, pious, sturdy, aggressive, hard-necked Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, who were the first to resist British aggression, lighted the fires that burst out at the Alamance, and framed and promulgated the Mecklenburg declaration, the first pronouncement of independence ever made in America.

Shortly after them came the Baptists, no less earnest and patriotic.

Methodism came later, only becoming influential after the Revolution, but its growth was wonderful, and its impress upon religious life in Tennessee has been greater than that of any other denomination.

While these pioneers may have been intolerant of those who held to no religion, they were absolutely tolerant of all religions. They were not like the pilgrim fathers, who sought a freer air for religious liberty, but allowed no liberty of religion that did not conform to their own. In Watauga absolute religious liberty prevailed.

The Cumberland Constitution recognized a "Divine Providence," but put no religious test for the exercise of any right of citizenship or the enjoyment of any governmental privilege.

The Constitution of Franklin has not been preserved,

and nothing in respect of it can be positively affirmed on this point.

The Constitution of 1796, the first Constitution made for and by all Tennesseans, the Constitution of the day we celebrate, the Constitution created by those earnest men of such deep conviction and reverential nature that they opened their convention, not merely with prayer, but by a formal sermon by the Rev. Samuel Carrick, established unlimited religious liberty.

Believing that religion was the conserving principle of civilization, they also believed in a religion of love, and not of proscription or law, one that was to prevail by a conquest of the mind and heart, and not by the fierce propagandism of fanaticism and oppression. Knowing that a State founded on the consent of the governed must look for its development and greatness to the patriotic endeavor of all its citizens, with no part of them ostracised or suspended from political fellowship, but with all inspired by that proud sense of sovereign power and individual responsibility which is the life and strength of republics, they declared that:

“No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under this State.”

The wisdom of man could not improve upon this declaration. It was literally preserved in the Constitution of 1834, and again, after having been proven for three-quarters of a century, was repeated in the Constitution of 1870.

It is imbedded in the organic law of the State, and comes to us with the sanction of a hundred years. It commands our obedience to its spirit as well as to its letter. It will never be torn from the Constitution, nor be practically annulled by political action, so long as the spirit of American liberty dominates our people. Woe to those who shall give occasion for such a contest! Woe to those who shall make of insufficient conditions a pretext for it! They will be foes to society and enemies of Christian civilization.

Education.

The school, no less than the church, marked from the beginning the progress of civilization westward from the mountains.

The church and the school went *pari passu*. The ministers of the one were the votaries of the other.

As said by Caldwell, the scholarly commentator upon our Constitution: "We trace the line of their southward and westward progress by a cordon of colleges and academies. The names of Doak, Carrick, Balch and Craighead survive to us mainly because they were pioneers of education."

To Samuel Doak, a native of Virginia, student of Princeton, tutor at Hampden Sydney, soldier of the Revolution, Presbyterian minister, builder of the first church in Tennessee, is due the distinction of establishing in Washington County, in 1788, the first literary institution in the Mississippi Valley.

The Houston Constitution, proposed in 1784 for the State of Franklin, while not adopted on account of some impracticable features, is, nevertheless, a reflex of the sentiment of the times. It put a high premium on education by providing that no one should be eligible to office "not a scholar to do the business, nor unless acquainted with the laws of the country in some measure, but particularly with every article of the Constitution." It provided for the encouragement of all kinds of useful learning, the creation of a university near the centre of the State, and looked to the establishment of grammar schools in every county "under masters of approved morals and abilities."*

The only thing that discredits the sagacity of the time was a provision that excluded all lawyers from the Legislature. The offense in the discrimination is somewhat atoned for by the fact that in this respect they were put in the respectable company of ministers of the gospel and doctors of physic.

The State of Franklin signalized its earliest legislation by an act "for the promotion of learning in Washington County," which rechartered Martin Academy, and was the first legislative act west of the Alleghanies for the encouragement of learning.†

* Ramsey, 332.

† Constitutional History of Tennessee, Caldwell, p. 65.

In 1785 was established Davidson Academy, which in 1803 became Davidson College, with Thomas B. Craighead as its President and Andrew Jackson and James Robertson on its Board of Trustees.

In 1794 Blount College was established under the Presidency of Samuel Carrick.

The early legislation and messages of the Governors all bear testimony to the profound interest manifested in the cause of education.

That our achievements in general education are not to-day commensurate with those early efforts, we are bound to admit.

This should be an occasion for honest introspection and pledges for the future, as well as for glorifying the past.

We cannot obliterate accusing facts by empty boastfulness. We have no monopoly of the knowledge of our status on the subject of education and, if we would, we cannot shut out from the world what the published census of the United States discloses.

The population of Tennessee, 10 years of age and over, in 1890 was 1,276,631. Of this number, 240,140 were illiterates, being 26.6 per cent. Of the colored population, 54.2 per cent. were illiterates.

The scholastic population for 1895 was 720,623, and the average daily attendance at school was but 338,330, and those enrolled were only 478,125.

This is not a pleasing subject to contemplate. If it were irremediable, I would pass it by in silence and sorrow. We know, and the world must know, that it is largely the result of the civil war, which raised to citizenship an uneducated mass, and precipitated this burden of ignorance upon a people reduced to penury, by the withering simoom that had swept over them. Let the historian search out and explain the causes, if he will. We are confronted with a condition which no delving into the past can ameliorate.

An awakened interest and more progressive methods have marked recent years. The per cent. of illiterates, from 1880 to 1890, was reduced from 38.7 to 26.6 per cent. A greater improvement will doubtless be shown by the next census. Tennessee will arouse herself and dissipate the

dark cloud of ignorance which is so threatening. Upon this will largely depend our rank in the march of civilization.

It will be glory enough for this Centennial year, and will consecrate it to all posterity, if we shall signalize it by kindling anew the torch of education at the altars erected by those early pioneers, and by bringing to the work the same zeal manifested by them, inaugurate a system which will rapidly carry light, strength, life and hope, and the knowledge of the institutions which we would perpetuate, into every humble home from the crest of the Great Smokies to the banks of the Great River, the one figurative of the strength and majesty of a people, with secure and broad foundation looking up to the light and the truth, the other of the mighty and constant flow, with which the stream of knowledge sweeps on, bearing argosies filled with rich blessings on its bosom.

I have spoken alone of the common school education. We can point with satisfaction to our higher institutions of learning, efficient to-day and progressive with the age.

Nashville has achieved, and holds without rival, the proud distinction of being called the Athens of the South. No other city in America of equal size has so many flourishing educational institutions. Many students from other cities and States gather in her halls of learning. Does it bring a rich harvest of shekels to her marts? Perchance it may; but who will stop to count the sordid gains of riches that take wings and fly away in contemplating the glad-some light of strength and purity which is poured into the lives of the youth of this land, a light whose effulgence does not become spent, but transmitted from sire and mother to daughter and son, goes forth in multiplied rays for the upbuilding and strengthening of our beloved South?

Patriotism.

With all their differences in antecedents, purposes, and mental equipment, there was one spirit that animated all our pioneer fathers: A pure patriotism always burned, with a steady flame. A sentiment, or impulse, enters the hearts of a people, flames out and with resistless force carries all

before it, and becomes the genius of the epoch. Such was the restless spirit which in the fifteenth century impelled hardy adventurers to seek for unknown worlds.

Such was the zeal which fired the heart of the crusader, to turn his face from a smiling fortune and yearn with the hope of leaving his bones to bleach upon the plains of Palestine. Such was the devotion to a cult of liberty, which they thought was to regenerate the world, that gave the sublime sacrifices of the men and women of the French revolution.

Within a narrower sphere of action, far from the centre, yea, upon the very periphery of civilization, with no inspiration of royal commission, or pontifical blessing, with no dazzling pageantry, pomp and circumstance of glorious war to stir the imagination, with no orator to incite, no painter to immortalize, no poet to sing, these plain men, looking beyond the horizon of personal interest and temporary advantage, showed a devotion no less heroic. "If we fail," said one, "it must never be from cowardice." Bledsoe, with prophetic eye that contemplated his own sad end, said: "If we perish here, others will be sure to come—either to revenge our death or to accomplish what we have begun. If they find not our graves or our scattered bones, they may revere our memories, and publish to the ages to come that we deserved a better fate."

Robertson said: "These rich and beautiful lands were not designed to be given up to savages and wild beasts. The God of Creation and Providence has nobler purposes in view."

And so they and their companions stood for more than self throughout those years of blood. Bledsoe fell, but his memory survives. Robertson, twice wounded, saw his brother and two sons go down in the strife, but he lived to see a glorious fruition.

The genius that filled their hearts was love of country—that unselfish passion which is the spark of divinity in man. The love of parents, wife and offspring is natural, and often burns most intensely in those who are most sordid. It is for those we know, and should be reciprocal. Ofttimes it brings a rich return, and while it sows with one hand, it reaps a harvest with the other.

The bonds of friendship are mutual, and if burdens must be taken up, they, at least, are borne for those with whom our hearts have communed.

Even the devotion that religion inculcates springs from a sense of immeasurable obligation, and bound up with it is a personal hope of immortal bliss.

The love of the patriot is spontaneous, it takes root in the soil of self-sacrifice, brings its richest tribute in the times of darkest despair, and immolates its votaries for the good of those unborn. Their sorrows are always of the present. The joys most often gladden other hearts, and the *Io Triumphe* is shouted by voices that cannot penetrate the silence of their graves. It is a passion, an inspiration, a divinity, that leaps beyond the span of mortal life and projects itself into the ages to come.

It is the seal of man's faith in immortality.

Those men were touched with the purifying flame, and when they approached the altar of sacrifice they counted not the cost.

It was Robertson who said: "It is a matter of no reflection to a brave man to see a father, or a brother, fall in the field of action."

Did the gaunt wolf of Rome suckle a race of more determined warriors?

They put into their Constitution: "That no citizen of this State shall be compelled to bear arms, provided he will pay an equivalent, to be ascertained by law."

Were they tired of war? Did they hope for perpetual peace? Did they expect to fight their battles with mercenaries? They left behind no record of their debates, and no explanation. Coming from the hands of Robertson, Cocke, Jackson, and their associates, none is needed. They knew its protection would only be invoked for the infirm, that "*noblesse oblige*" would be the watchward of Tennesseans, and that they would give to the world the sublime spectacle of a volunteer soldiery. Her sons have never waited for their country to utter a call of distress. They have always borne upon their shields the proud device, "I volunteer."

This spirit is a heritage that has been transmitted, un-

dininished to this day. The patriotism of Tennesseans has lost none of its intensity. Neither time, nor luxury, nor the civil war has cooled their ardor. If their country shall need their services, let other States look to their laurels, for Tennesseans will find a place "near the music of the guns."

Let not Spain, nor England, cherish the delusion that Tennessee will, on account of the civil war, be disaffected or falter in her support of the American flag. If the occasion shall come, Spain will hear, renewed from their descendants, the stern defiance which rang from Tennesseans when they planted the stars and stripes upon the walls of Pensacola, and England will again be greeted with the hospitality that welcomed at Chalmette the flower of her chivalry.

Preservation of Order and Enforcement of Law.

The men of 1796 and their antecessors in Tennessee glorified the law. They tolerated no conception of society that was not founded on a stable government, and to them government meant the firm and just administration of the law by its accredited agents.

Of them, Mr. Bancroft said: "At a time when Enropean society was becoming broken in pieces, scattered, disunited, and resolved into its elements, a scene ensued in Tennessee than which nothing more beautifully grand is recorded in the annals of the race. These adventurers in the wilderness longed to come together in organized society. The overshadowing genius of their time inspired them with good designs and filled them with the counsels of wisdom. Dwellers in the forest, freest of the free, bound in the spirit, they came up by their representatives, on foot, on horseback, through the forest, along the streams, by the buffalo traces, by the Indian paths, by the blazed forest avenues, to meet in convention among the mountains at Knoxville, and frame for themselves a Constitution."*

They came to establish communities and found a State that was to endure. They knew that art and science, learning and civilization, and all the blessings they bring in

* Eulogies of Jackson, page 35.

their train, would never flourish if justice—the very keystone of the arch that supports society—was to be pushed from place by the fury of an irresponsible mob.

The settlers of the Watauga, having no protection by the administration of the law of North Carolina, did not turn to the rude methods of the barbarian, but established a government and laws, and administered them with justice, promptness and firmness. Their petition to North Carolina is replete with this sentiment.

Even within the territory of the State of Franklin, distracted by the conflicts of two administrations, from 1784 to 1788, when passions were aroused and factions prevailed, but two deaths from violence were recorded, almost no bloodshed, and little violation of the rights of property.

The Constitution of Cumberland, made in 1780, at Nashborough, the present site of Nashville, recited:

“As this settlement is in its infancy, unknown to government, and not included within any county within North Carolina, the State to which it belongs, so as to derive the advantages of those wholesome and salutary laws, for the protection and benefit of its citizens, we find ourselves constrained, from necessity, to adopt this temporary method of restraining the licentious, and supplying, by unanimous consent, the blessings flowing from a just and equitable government.”

As said of them by Roosevelt:

“The government was in the hands of men who were not only law-abiding themselves, but also resolute to see that the law was respected by others.”†

Democracy, to them, did not mean mobocracy.

James Robertson, John Sevier, Andrew Jackson, and their contemporaries, would have spurned with indignation the very suggestion that in time of peace they did not have virtue and manhood enough to enforce the law.

What more illustrious example was ever given of respect to the majesty of the law than that of the conqueror of New Orleans, flushed with victory, appearing to answer a charge of contempt, and directing the trembling judge, overawed

* Ramsey, 440.

† Winning of the West, 362.

by the enraged populace, to do his duty and fearlessly uphold the law?

The men of 1796 were all inured to war, but they waged war that they might have peace, and to them peace did not mean violence, nor the usurpation by frenzy of the seat of justice. They, as we of to-day, wished to attract those who, as the Watauga people expressed it, would "improve agriculture, perfect manufactures, encourage literature, and everything truly laudable."

They knew that nothing was so repellant as lawlessness. They not only established a government and made the law, but they never lost confidence in their ability to enforce it.

They are the only people known to history who had the nerve to deal with the mother-in-law. Their records show that one Hogan unlawfully detained a kettle, that the court awarded its possession to the plaintiff, and that the defendant and his mother-in-law were made to pay the costs. Since that day we have had none but amiable mothers-in-law in the State of Tennessee.

Gov. Sevier, in his message of 1799, said: "The laws and regular decorum are duly observed and supported throughout the government."

If there be any one here to-day who believes in the rule of the mob, he can claim no fellowship with the men whose memory we honor. If there be in this State any community that would supinely yield itself to this cankering virus, that destroys all wholesome life in the body politic, and makes it a polluted wreck, swayed by passion and incapable of the ordinary administration of law, let them claim no heritage in the virtues that distinguished the epoch we celebrate.

Democracy in its Governmental and Not Party Sense.

The distinguishing feature that stood out in all of the efforts made by the people of Tennessee toward establishing constitutional government, and one that strongly contrasted with the systems of the older States, was the broad principle of democratic equality, and the rule of the people.

Few of the early inhabitants were men of wealth, or of distinguished ancestry. There was in those early days com-

paratively little manifestation of social caste, or of an aristocracy founded either on wealth or family prestige. The communities, composed of men starting on nearly equal terms, strong in purpose, robust in every element of manly character, independent in spirit and untrammelled by the prejudices and inherited conditions of an established social and political order, framed a government adapted to their views of free republican institutions.

Watauga was the first government of English-speaking people that had universal suffrage and absolute religious freedom.*

This intense feeling of personal liberty and unyielding assertion of the principle that government was made for the individual and not the individual for the government, has always been a dominant sentiment in Tennessee.

The Cumberland constitution was founded upon unanimous consent, and there were none of the restrictions upon suffrage which prevailed in the older States.

Such also was the compact entered into in 1788 by those "inhabiting south of Holston, French Broad, and Big Pigeon Rivers."

The Constitution of 1796, which was the first framed for the government of all of the people of Tennessee, was marked with conservatism. Modeled on the organic law of North Carolina, it had some features which were irreconcilable with the democratic spirit of equality which pervaded and distinguished the earlier compacts.

Representation was to be apportioned upon the basis of taxable inhabitants, and none but freeholders were eligible to the Assembly. Justices of the peace, the judges and attorney general were elected by the General Assembly. Coroners, sheriffs, trustees and constables were elected by the County Court. Taxation, while declared to be equal, discriminated in favor of landed interests.

These features offer no just ground for impugning the consistency of the men who were leaders in the convention. In the declaration of abstract principles, in the bill of rights, they could give full way to the most advanced theory of popular government.

* Constitutional History of Tennessee, Caldwell, p. 11.

In dealing with concrete questions, they wisely builded on the Constitution of North Carolina, with which they were familiar, made such changes as seemed obviously proper, and left it to experience to guide them in further development and the establishment of a system in full accord with the principles they had enunciated. Besides, while the abstract idea of democracy was the same then as now, the world has advanced in what is deemed essential for a true practical expression of it. They declared against perpetuities and monopolies as contrary to the genius of a free State, that no hereditary emoluments, privileges, or honors should ever be conferred, and required each legislator to take an oath that he would neither propose nor assent to anything that might appear injurious to the people, or that might have a tendency to lessen or abridge their rights and privileges. Mr. Jefferson said it was "the least imperfect and the most republican of the State constitutions."

Whatever may have been the undemocratic shortcomings of the constitution of 1796, it is quite certain that then the belief in individual liberty and the exercise of the largest degree of personal power of the people in the administration of government existed. This has always been a dominant principle lying at the very foundation of political life in Tennessee. It has given a spirit of independent and conscious strength to her people. It is so bound up with the thoughts, traditions and convictions of her people that nothing short of a social cataclysm will ever bring such a change as will sensibly diminish the power of the individual and its opportunities for expression in controlling the affairs of State.

This principle, so fully in accord with the spirit of a free people, with an institutional government of the people, for the people, and by the people, has brought its embarrassments, and has even been a menace at times to good government. This came from conditions never foreseen when our democratic institutions were so broadly framed. The country became convulsed with civil war, property was destroyed, society was upheaved and almost wrecked, the flower of manhood was cut off, and, what no one probably

had ever anticipated, nearly one-third of the population were, in a day, transmuted, uneducated, untrained in the habits and responsibilities of freemen, from a condition of servitude to one of controlling political power, and were incited by constant pressure to use their advantage for disorganization and revenge.

A part of these conditions are with us now, and they will in the same character, though in diminishing intensity, continue to abide with us for a time which, so far as we know, will be of indefinite duration.

If we are to maintain the democratic spirit and the democratic institutions, which have always characterized the policy of Tennessee, and which lie as a basic principle in her people's idea of government; if we are to maintain our civilization with it, and both under a stable government, and a pure expression of the individual political function, then we must by education direct and make safe the forces that control our destiny, and must, by judicious encouragement of conservative immigration, rather from our own Northern States than from abroad, maintain that racial preponderance which, in this State, preserves both blacks and whites from the fearful conditions which prevail in some of our sister Southern States.

Emancipation.

There was one feature in the Constitution of this, the most democratic of all the States, which at this time is of special interest.

When Tennessee was admitted into the Union her population comprised 1,000 free negroes. By the Constitution of 1796, which permitted all freemen of the age of 21, who had been inhabitants of a county for six months previous to an election, to vote, this class of citizens had the right of the elective franchise, a right which was exercised until 1834, at which time it was cut off, largely on account of the number, which had grown to nearly 5,000, and the threatened influx of liberated slaves from other States.*

* In 1830 Benton said: "The State of Missouri was kept out of the Union one whole year for the clause which prohibited the future entry and settlement of free people of color. And what have we seen since? The actual expulsion of a great body of free colored people from the

In the constitutional convention of that year transpired an event of historic interest. Sixteen counties presented petitions with 1,804 signers, many of whom were slaveholders, some asking that all the children of slaves born after 1835 be made free, and others, with what seems almost a prophetic forecast, that all slavery should cease to exist in Tennessee from 1866.†

A report was made, which unequivocally set forth the evils of slavery, denounced it in the strongest terms, and looked hopefully to its ultimate extinction as "an event devoutly and ardently desired by the wise and good in every part of our beloved country."

If nothing were known but the fact of negro suffrage up to 1834, and that such a report, in such a body, and at such a time was made and dispassionately considered, these

State of Ohio, and not one word of objection, not one note of grief.
 * * * The papers state the compulsory expatriation from Cincinnati at two thousand souls; the whole number that may be compelled to expatriate from the State of Ohio at ten thousand. This is a remarkable event, paralleled only by the expulsion of the Moors from Spain and the Huguenots from France. * * * The Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. W.) so copious and encomiastic upon the subject of Ohio, so full and affecting upon the topic of freedom, and the rights of freemen in that State, was incomprehensibly silent and fastidiously mute upon the question of this wonderful expatriation—an expatriation which sent a generation of free people from a republican State to a monarchical province."

In the same debate Felix Grandy said: "I have in my hand the memorial of two thousand free people of color, resident in Ohio, praying this Congress to provide them funds to enable them to remove to Canada, because they cannot remain in the State of Ohio on account of the severity of the laws imposed upon them. * * * The State of Indiana has forwarded its memorial asking Congress for aid to remove the free people of color now in that State to Liberia."

* * * * *

In 1853 the Legislature of Illinois enacted: "If any negro or mulatto, bond or free, shall hereafter come into this State and remain ten days, with the intention of residing in the same, every such negro shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and for the first offense shall be fined \$50. * * * If the said negro or mulatto shall be found guilty and the fine assessed be not paid forthwith * * * the said justice shall at public auction proceed to sell said negro or mulatto to any person who will pay said fine and costs for the shortest time."

(Address of Mr. Leigh Robinson, "The Richmond Howitzers," December 13, 1892, pp. 48, 62.)

† Constitutional History of Tennessee. Caldwell, pp. 135-40.

would suffice as exponents of the truth that the Pennsylvanians and Virginians who settled that region, and their descendants, were imbued with the same principles and convictions which in the constitutional convention of 1788 opposed the action of the Northern States, in combining with the Carolinas and Georgia against Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware and Virginia and imposing, in behalf of Northern ship-owners, the African slave trade on the country until 1808.

It was not until that year (1834) that the apprentice emancipation act of Great Britain went into effect. Neither Sweden, Denmark, nor France had abolished slavery in their colonies. Slavery yet lingered in New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Rhode Island and New Hampshire.*

The men of that convention had in their minds the example of Washington, who had freed his slaves, and the utterances of those pioneer and great advocates of emancipation, Henry, Jefferson, Madison and Marshall.

It will be remembered that this was the year that John Randolph, of Virginia, died, and liberated by will 300 slaves.†‡

* Von Holst, I, 284, 11.

† Lundy, Life, p. 273.

‡ John Randolph, by a will executed in the presence of Mark Alexander and Nathaniel Macon, had made Judge William Leigh the residuary devisee and legatee of his valuable estate, subject to certain specific legacies and provisions. The most important of these provisions was that of the means to enable the executor of the will to transport the slaves of the estate (set free by a previous clause), and settle them in some other State or Territory. He appointed Judge Leigh his executor. The will was contested on the ground of the mental unsoundness of the testator. Judge Leigh, well aware that the emancipation of these slaves had been the undeviating purpose of Randolph's life, relinquished his absorbing interest under the will, that he might become a witness in support of it, and so, at least, accomplish the particular intent to which I have referred. To this extent the will was, in effect, sustained, and Judge Leigh was appointed commissioner to transport and settle the negroes as provided therein. The State selected for the settlement was Ohio, but when the commissioner landed his first interview was with a mob, formed to resist and repel the negro settlement. The clearest glimpse of the state of feeling is derived from the newspapers of the time.

From the *National Intelligencer*, July 15, 1846 :

"The *Cincinnati* (Ohio) *Chronicle* of the 9th instant says that the emancipated slaves of John Randolph, who recently passed up the Miami

The Philadelphians signalized it by anti-abolition riots, in which an African Presbyterian Church was destroyed, and negroes were beaten and killed.

It was made memorable by the good people of Connecticut, who, after having incarcerated Prudence Crandall for admitting negroes into her school, contrary to law, attempted to burn her school-house, and stormed it with stones and crowbars.*

New York made it historic with scenes of wild tumult, sacking the house of Tappan and other abolitionists, and turning upon terrified negroes the vengeance of a frenzied mob.†

The memory of the bloody scenes of the Turner insurrection was still fresh in the public mind. In that year Gerritt Smith, in a meeting of abolitionists, proclaimed: "It is not to be disguised that war has broken out between the South and the North not early to be terminated."‡

canal to their settlement in Mercer county, Ohio, met with a warm reception at Bremen. The citizens of Mercer county turned out en masse, and called a meeting, or rather formed themselves into one immediately, and passed resolutions to the effect that said slaves should leave in twenty-four hours, which they did, in other boats than the one which conveyed them there. They came back some twenty-three miles, at which place they encamped, not knowing what to do."

From the *National Intelligencer*, July 24, 1846:

The *Sidney* (Ohio) *Aurora* of the 11th says: These negroes (the Randolph negroes) remain on Colonel Johnson's farm, near Piqua. That paper condemns in decided terms the conduct of the citizens in Mercer in the late outbreak, and insists that "they should have made their objections known before the land was purchased, and not waited until they had drawn the last cent they could expect out of the blacks—some \$32,000—and then raised an armed force and refused to let them take possession of their property as they have done. We look upon the whole proceeding as outrageous in the extreme, and the participators should be severely punished. What makes the thing worse is the fact that a number of those, who were fiercest in their opposition to the blacks and loudest in their threats to shoot, etc., were the very ones who sold them land, received wages for constructing the buildings, and actually pocketed a large amount of money for provisions, not two weeks before the arrival of the poor creatures whom they have so unjustly treated."

* Von Holst, 1828-1846, p. 99.

† Same, p. 101.

‡ Von Holst, 1828-1846, p. 87.

Garrison and his followers had denounced the constitution as a "covenant with death and agreement with hell."

It was the year before Andrew Donelson, of Tennessee, died, emancipating twenty-one slaves by his will, that year of 1835 in which that orderly proceeding took place in Boston, called by the Boston Gazette "a meeting of gentlemen of property and standing from all parts of the city," in which Garrison was seized and dragged through the streets with a rope about his neck, and from which he found safe refuge only within the hospitable walls of a jail,* and two years before Governor Everett, of Massachusetts, suggested the expediency of prosecuting abolitionists.†

But these events in Tennessee's history do not stand alone. Rev. Samuel Doak, a Virginian by birth and one of the men who contributed potentially toward shaping the destiny of Tennessee, was an avowed abolitionist in East Tennessee as early as 1800.

National Intelligencer, August 10, 1846 :

THE RANDOLPH NEGROES.—The last *Piqua* (Ohio) *Register* says : "These unfortunate creatures have again been driven from lands selected for them. As we noticed last week, an effort, which it was thought would be successful, was made to settle them in Shelby County, but like the previous attempt in Mercer it has failed. They were driven away by threats of violence. About one-third of them, we understand, remained at Sidney, intending to scatter and find homes wherever they can. The rest of them came down here to-day, and are now at the wharf in boats. The present intention is to leave them wherever places can be obtained for them. We presume, therefore, they will remain in the State, as it is probable they will find situations for them between this and Cincinnati."

National Intelligencer, August 15, 1846 :

JOHN RANDOLPH NEGROES.—"It is said that these unfortunate creatures have been again driven away by threats of violence from the lands which had been secured for them in Ohio, and that Judge Leigh, despairing of being able to colonize them in a free State, has concluded to send them to Liberia."—*Richmond Republican*.

The negroes were finally allowed to occupy the land for which they had paid ; but what a very invigorating sympathy did these two emancipators excite in this free State ! Here was one Virginian who had emancipated by will numerous slaves, and here was another who relinquished a large estate to secure the fulfillment of this part of the will. The response to them from the North was mob violence and contumelious scorn.

(Address of Mr. Leigh Robinson, "The Richmond Howitzers," December 13, 1892, pp. 20-22.)

* Von Holst, 1828-1846, p. 102, Lundy, Life, 281.

† Lundy, Life, 286.

He and the Presbyterians of his neighborhood bought two negroes, freed and educated them, and the Union Presbytery of East Tennessee licensed and ordained them.

His pupils, Jesse Lockhart and John Rankin, Tennesseans by birth, became famous leaders in the cause of emancipation.

Mr. Beecher, in reply to the question "Who abolished slavery?" is said to have answered, "Rev. John Rankin and his sons did it."*

In 1801 a law was passed in Tennessee favoring voluntary emancipation. A manumission society was formed in Tennessee in 1814, which in 1825 had over 570 members.

In 1820 at Jonesborough, Tenn., Embree established the "Emancipator," the first newspaper in the United States whose avowed object was the abolition of slavery,† and in 1821 this was succeeded by the "Genius of Universal Emancipation," published by Lundy, which then was the only anti-slavery paper in America.‡

In 1824 at Columbia was formed "The Moral Religious Manumission Society of West Tennessee," which declared in the preamble to its Constitution that slavery "exceeds any other crime in magnitude."

In 1827, of the 130 anti-slavery societies of America, 106 were located in slave-holding States, and Tennessee alone had twenty-five, with 1,000 members, which was more than three times as many as there were in all New England and New York combined.§

It was estimated by Abolitionists in 1828, the year that Lundy went to Boston and could hear of no Abolitionists' resident there,|| that in Tennessee three-fifths of the people were favorably disposed toward the principle of emancipation.¶

In 1833 the Tennessee Manumission Society memorialized Congress, praying for a prohibition of the internal slave trade, a law that all persons born thereafter in the

* Life, Birney, 168.

† Birney's Life, 77.

‡ Lundy's Life, p. 21.

§ Lundy's Life, 218.

|| Lundy's Life, p. 25.

¶ Life, Birney, 79-80.

United States should be free, and that slavery should not be introduced in any State where it did not then exist, nor be suffered in any States thereafter admitted into the Union.*

I record these things because they are facts not generally known, because they have been more or less ignored, or suppressed by those who have professed to write history, and because of the audacity with which some, whose ancestors were as much responsible for slavery as were ours, cast slurs upon the descendants of slaveholders of the South.

They go far to confirm the statement of Garrison made in the first number of the *Liberator*, in 1831, that a greater revolution in public opinion had to be accomplished in the North than in the South, and that he found in the North "contempt more bitter, prejudice more stubborn and apathy more frozen than among the slave owners themselves." †

In 1831 John Quincy Adams, in presenting memorials asking for abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, stated that he would not give the proposed measure his support; that "whatever might be his opinion of slavery in the abstract, in the District of Columbia, he hoped it would not become a subject of discussion in that house," and that "the most healing medicines, when unduly administered, become the most deadly poison." ‡

The abatement of emancipation sentiments in Tennessee, and the apparent solidity that followed in favor of upholding the institution of slavery, was partially, if not entirely, superinduced by those "healing medicines," so persistently administered in such heroic doses. Movements for emancipation, however earnest, were made impossible in a sovereign State in the face of threats from without of servile war, and the torch of the incendiary.§

* Life, Lundy, 193.

† Von Holst, 1828-46, p. 95.

‡ Lundy, 348.

§ "The States of Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee were engaged in practical movements for the gradual emancipation of their slaves. This movement continued until it was arrested by the aggressions of the Abolitionists upon their voluntary action. This action was prompted by economical, rather than moral reasons. The Abolitionists, however, refused to accept an impending fact, and insisted upon convicting as

If the people of Tennessee had been left to a free development, it is my belief that emancipation would have come, as it came in the Northern States, from the operation of silent forces, and under conditions vastly more beneficent to both races.

Certain it is that the people of Tennessee, from 1796 to 1860, would have been as far from inaugurating slavery as any people upon the earth, and that they would have abolished it as promptly as any State in the Union did, if they had been affected with the same conditions.

Individual Tennesseans, by voluntary act, freed more slaves and surrendered more property value in so doing than did any of the New England States by their acts of emancipation. The State, however, as a political organism, was confronted with portentous problems which lay in the immediate background, problems far vaster than the annihilation of values, problems which did not exist in New England, problems involving the social and political adjustment of different races, living in great numbers in daily contact, problems which then appalled the statesmen of the South, and which, now that slavery has ended, are demanding the wisdom of the entire nation, and the ultimate solution of which no man but a rash one would undertake to exactly define.

The lesson for us to learn from the dispassionate way in which the men of Tennessee in 1834, notwithstanding the fiery invectives then hurled against them, discussed and dealt with this momentous question, is to meet these great issues as they press upon us, taking counsel of experience and wisdom, not prejudice and passion, and to bring to their settlement a large patriotism, a full sense of justice, to white and black, and fidelity to the demands of an enduring civilization.

criminals those who were so well disposed to bring about the very result at which they themselves professed to aim. The consequences were such as might have been reasonably expected. Promised emancipation refused to submit itself to hateful abolition. Those three border States placed themselves at once upon the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798, and, resenting as an insult the interference of the Northern intruders, abandoned the scheme which a calm view of considerations, tending to their own future welfare, had induced them to form." *Origin of the late War. George Lunt, Boston, p. 34. See also Curtis' Constitutional History, Vol. II, p. 250-253.*

That much has been done and wisely done by both races is attested by this assembly enthusiastically participated in by all, without regard to previous condition, by that magnificent structure which will adorn these grounds, reared by the colored citizens of Tennessee, and which is to contain at the Exposition, of which this is the inaugural day, the evidences of their progress in knowledge, skill, art, and industry.

We of the South, who are native here, rejoice that these things are so, no less than do those citizens of Northern birth, who have cast their lot among us, and we hail with genuine satisfaction every manifestation of progress made by the colored race toward useful citizenship.

There is not a son of Tennessee, unless he is out of communion with the spirit that dominates her people, who, however he may condemn the way it was effected, does not rejoice at the emancipation of the blacks and whites of the South, and who would, if he could, see this day celebrated, under a constitutional provision stultifying by its sanction of slavery the declaration that all men are endowed with the inalienable right of liberty, a provision made by our ancestors North and South, under the lights of the time, and the pressure of expediency enforced by inherited conditions.

That in these years since the war, characterized sometimes by friction and fierce contest, sometimes by forbearance and wise concession, sometimes by liberal measures by which the whites operated themselves with tax burdens for the benefit of the blacks, much has been accomplished, and that the trend has been, though often obscured and wavering, toward a better adjustment and greater prosperity, none but the pessimist will deny.

In the public schools of Tennessee, sustained mainly by taxation of the whites, there were last year 100,479 colored children, and 1,778 colored teachers were employed.

That the stage now reached would, with less of sorrow, heartburning and antagonism, have come much earlier but for the disturbing, exasperating, persistent, and often wicked interferences from without, is my solemn conviction.

While I have endeavored to point to my white breth-

ren, how they may gather wisdom for the future, let me say to the colored people of Tennessee that the day has passed when you can look to outside power to push you to a position which you can neither achieve nor maintain. Such aids are but temporary expedients, and when withdrawn the inherent weakness of the effort is made manifest. You must, by industry, economy, integrity, the practice of social virtues and fidelity to the demands of useful citizenship, achieve for yourselves, and what you thus win you can maintain, and in this struggle, your best interest will be served by cultivating harmony with those who have, and doubtless will continue to control the destiny of this State.

There is no person who has the intellect to comprehend the principles of government, and the economic and social forces of civilization, and the honesty to express his belief, that will not say that, until the mass of the colored population is elevated by many years of training for the duties of citizenship, they will enjoy more liberties and blessings, under a civilization controlled by the Anglo-Saxon race, than they possibly could under a system which they themselves dominated.

From 1796 to 1860.

With such a people, animated by such principles, Tennessee bounded forward in a career of almost unparalleled prosperity and glory.

Starting youngest in the race in 1796 with her sister States, with but little accumulated wealth, she stood in 1860, with a population of 1,109,801, tenth among the States of the Union, having outstripped all of the original thirteen but New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Massachusetts, and with an assessed valuation of \$382,495,200, or \$344.65 per capita, which exceeded that of either Pennsylvania, Vermont or Maine, and nearly equaled that of either Delaware, New Hampshire or New York. The assessed taxable property in Tennessee in 1860 exceeded that of each of the New England and Middle States, except Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania.

In 1848 the tax valuation of Tennessee was \$129,510,043; in 1859 it was \$377,208,641, thus being nearly tripled in eleven years, and far outstripping the New England and Middle States in the ratio of increase.

Her banking capital was \$8,500,000, and she had, by the brilliant record of her banks, all of which came triumphantly through the crisis of 1832, in which nearly every other bank in the South and Southwest went to the wall, achieved a reputation for stability which made her rival New Orleans as the banking centre of the Southwest.

Her sons and daughters enjoyed the best advantages for education. It was a land full of glorious promise. Civilization was sweeping onward with luminous wings.

Her history in war and peace had been brilliant. Her pioneers with those of Kentucky had won the West from the Indian, the Spaniard and the French. But for their resolute courage in crossing the mountains and taking possession of the wilderness against the wishes of the older States, the American Republic by the treaty of peace with Great Britain would have been shut in upon the Atlantic coast. Spain and France, who wished her success to thwart England, also wished that territory for themselves. It was their firm and persistent stand that finally secured the mouth of the Mississippi.

The nation has never recognized these inestimable debts to that heroic people.

In the darkest hour of our struggle they volunteered, crossed the mountains, organized a military expedition, created an army and commander and won the battle of Kings Mountain, which Mr. Jefferson said was "the joyful enunciation of that turn in the tide of success that terminated the Revolutionary War with the seal of independence."

From the appearance of Jackson upon the field of national action down to the civil war, Tennessee occupied a comparative position in the republic out of proportion to her population and material strength. It was a triumph of the genius of her people. No State in the Union, except Massachusetts and Virginia, had exercised so large an influence upon the civil affairs of the republic, and her military achievements were without rival. Without any requisition from the Government, she offered 2,500 volunteers at the very beginning of the war of 1812. Tennesseans fought almost alone the Creek war, and her Governor,

Wm. Blount, raised \$370,000 on his own responsibility for its prosecution. Led by their own gallant Jackson, they contributed more than all others to the victory that crowned the American arms at New Orleans. Another Tennessean, Gen. Gaines, was the next most brilliant figure in that war, who, by his victory of Fort Erie, first checked the invaders, flushed with their success in the East. Tennessee furnished in all in the war of 1812 27,833 troops; and when, in the Mexican war, 2,800 volunteers were called for, 30,000 offered their services. She had given to the country two Presidents, two Secretaries of War, one Attorney-General, one Secretary of the Treasury, two Postmasters General, two Speakers of the House of Representatives, one presiding officer of the Senate, one Supreme Judge, two ministers to Russia, one minister to Spain. No other State except Virginia had such a brilliant career.

Many of her sons, such as Benton, of Missouri; Tipton, of Indiana; Houston, of Texas; Claiborne, of Louisiana; Sharkey and Yerger, of Mississippi, and Gwin, of California, had attained great eminence in other States.

After the formation of the Whig party, for successive Presidential elections, Tennessee was the battle ground of the nation.

From 1837 to 1853, with the exception of the two successive terms of Jones, in 1841 and 1843, the Whigs and Democrats alternated in the control of the State, the majority rarely ever exceeding 1,500.

Her public men and orators were known throughout the length and breadth of the land, and stood high in the councils of their parties and the esteem of the people.

Carroll, Cannon, White, Haywood, Overton, Catron, Grundy, Amstrong, Crockett, Foster, Turney, Bell, Jones, Folk, Campbell, Trousdale, Cave Johnson, Nicholson, the two Browns, Henry, Haskell, Marshall, Andrew Johnson, Gentry, Harris, Hatton, Nelson, McKinney, Wright, Brownlow, and Maynard were household names, known to fame throughout the Union.

No State ever had so many and such skilled public debators. Parties were closely matched in strength, and were compelled to put forth their foremost men. The

sharp contests, with doubtful victory, afforded opportunities for the ambitious of both parties, and brought out and developed men who had the nerve and ability for leaders. A nomination did not mean an election. It was a storm from start to finish. There was no complicated political machinery, no manipulation of votes. The battle ground was the entire State, and all of her people, men, women and children, were in the fray, and cheered their champions in the doubtful struggle. The people held the party in power to strict accountability. The numbers were so nearly even that a blunder of administration, or disparity in leadership, turned the scales of victory. Happy is the State where parties are so nearly equal in numbers that they dare not commit a wrong, and so equal in integrity and ability that the public weal is safe in either's keeping.

The War.

Her inhabitants were almost all native American, with less than 2 per cent. of foreign born. Sprung from revolutionary sires and the heroes of 1812, they were filled with an idolatrous love for the Union, whose flag to them was emblematic. Its blue field spangled with equal stars portrayed a constellation of inextinguishable sovereign States, set in one harmonious system, in a firmament of equal spacing, with no one encroaching on the other. Its white stripes denoted the purity of their faith, and the red, the crimson flush with which the sons of Tennessee had always dyed the sacrificial altar of their country.

The irrepressible conflict between the North and the South threatened a disruption of the Union. Mr. Lincoln, who was regarded as a sectional candidate, and who received no votes in the State of Tennessee, was elected. Southern States began to secede, and their Senators and Representatives withdrew from the capital of the nation. Tennessee was confronted with the momentous issue which tore the heartstrings of her people. Events followed in rapid succession, and as the situation was altered, so changed the sentiments and action of her people.

On Feb. 9 was defeated the call for the convention to consider the relations between Tennessee and the Government

of the United States, the vote for disunion delegates being 24,749, and that for Union delegates being 88,803.

The Confederacy was formed, Sumter was fired on, President Lincoln called for volunteers, and an invasion of the South became a certainty.

Gov. Harris had already stated the case of the South in that brilliant message which electrified the people of Tennessee.

A majority of the people of Tennessee believed that, previous to the adoption of the Federal Constitution, each State was a separate and independent government, and that the Federal Union was a compact made by the States, in which each reserved all the rights and powers incident to sovereignty which were not expressly conferred upon the general government, or were necessary for the exercise of some power expressly granted.

The Constitution recognized property in slaves, and made it the duty of States to deliver fugitives to their owners.

This had been declared by the Supreme Court of the United States, which said that "no word can be found in the Constitution which gives Congress a greater power over slave property, or which entitles property of that kind to less protection than property of any other description. The only power conferred is the power coupled with the duty of guarding and protecting the owner in his rights." *

Still ringing in their ears was the farewell address of Jackson, in which he said that :

"Each State has the unquestionable right to regulate its own internal concerns, according to its own pleasure, and while it does not interfere with the rights of the people of other States, or the rights of the Union, every State must be the sole judge of the measures proper to secure the safety of its citizens and promote their happiness, and all efforts on the part of the people of other States to cast odium upon their institutions, and all measures calculated to disturb their rights of property, or to put in jeopardy their peace and internal tranquility, are in direct opposition to the spirit in which the Union was formed and must endanger its safety." †

* Jackson's Farewell Address.

† *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 19 How., 393, 452.

The Republican party dominated the country and many of its members had declared that there was "an irrepressible conflict" between the free and slave State, "and whether it be long, peaceful or bloody, the struggle shall go on, until the sun shall not rise upon a master, or set upon a slave."

The people of the South had by successive concessions agreed to the exclusion of slave property from the larger portion of the territory which they and their fathers had helped to acquire. A majority of the Northern States had in effect destroyed that provision in the Constitution that "No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

Extradition of those whose crimes grew out of the slavery question was refused. Owners in pursuit of their own slaves were indicted and incarcerated. Emissaries had been sent into the Southern States to run off slaves and arouse them to servile war. Property amounting in value to millions of dollars had been carried away by what was known as "the underground railway."

John Brown had invaded a sovereign State and killed its citizens. Some leaders had proclaimed the motto, "Alarm to the sleep, fire to the dwellings, poison to the food and water of slaveholders."

The decision of the Supreme Court was repudiated and rights guaranteed by the Constitution were assailed "from the floor of each house of Congress, the pulpit, the hustings, the school-room, their State Legislatures, and through the public press."

A majority of the people of Tennessee, believing that the Union, as established by the fathers, no longer existed, reversed on June 8, their former action by a majority of 57,675, and waiving the right of secession, proclaimed anew the doctrine of revolution of the Declaration of Independence, "that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of the ends for which it was created, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish

it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness," and on May 7 united their fortunes with their brethren of the South.

A large proportion of her population, living mainly in the eastern part of the State, where the institution of slavery had never taken deep root, controlled either by a different view of the Constitution or a sentiment for the Union which overshadowed all other considerations, with equal earnestness, espoused the cause of the Federal Government.

When the volcano of civil war burst forth, both sides threw themselves into the crater of its seething passions, reckless of everything but the principles for which they contended, and with a courage that showed that they were worthy to uphold the prestige of the men who achieved and maintained for Tennessee the proud title of the Volunteer State. A number of counties sent more soldiers in the field than they had voters. One hundred and fifteen thousand rushed into the ranks of the Confederacy, and, although the quota called for was only 1,560, there enlisted in the armies of the Union 31,000 white troops.

Tennessee furnished to the Confederate army thirty-nine, and to the Federal army eight general officers.

To the South she gave Maury, and to the North Farragut, whose names and fame have never been eclipsed in the annals of the American navy. The time allotted to this occasion would not suffice to call the roll of those who won immortal renown. It is not necessary, for their names are ever fresh in our memories.

The history of the war cannot be written without recording their deeds. The thinned ranks of scarred and maimed veterans who returned, needed no one to tell the scenes of carnage through which they had passed. The soil of Tennessee has been made sacred by the blood of her sons shed in 272 officially reported battles and skirmishes, and in other engagements, bringing the whole number up to 408.

Tennesseans reunited, with no contest except in generous rivalry, to advance the welfare of their State, yet cherish-

ing, but without bitterness, these proud memories, with one voice proclaim :

“Fold up the banner. Smelt the guns !
Love rules. Her gentle purpose runs.
A mighty mother turns in tears
The pages of her battle years,
Lamenting all her fallen sons.”

The people of Tennessee on both sides of that conflict, who sustained their convictions to the last extremity, vindicated their claims to the highest standard of American citizenship. If, moved by fears for self or pelf, they had surrendered their principles, they would have been unfit to encumber the earth. What American would have had them to do otherwise, holding the faith they did, a faith which they had a perfect right to hold?

Would anyone, if he could, reverse their action, and contemplate with equanimity the future of this country in the keeping of the coldblooded offspring of base and calculating weaklings, who deserted the traditions and political teachings of their fathers?

Even looking back through the tears which these sad memories evoke, memories of suffering and distress, not merely of strong men, but of helpless women and children, memories of a carnival of death, when there was no sign upon any lintel, but the destroying angel with impartial tread came to every household, Tennesseans of to-day would not wrong the heroic spirit of that gallant people by wishing that those of either side had sought safety, by bowing to the storm until its fury was spent. They would not for all the cost surrender the glorious heritage of that strife.

“It is meet then to hold in remembrance those who died in that war, opposed to each other, and to reconcile them by offering prayers, forasmuch as we ourselves are also reconciled. For not through malice and hatred did they lay hands upon each other, but through their evil fortune. And of these facts we are ourselves the living witnesses, for being of the same family with them, we have forgiven each other for what we have done and suffered.”

Thus spoke Socrates, to the Athenians, after the civil war. These words to-day find echo in every generous heart in Tennessee.

Devastation swept over the State, and it was prostrate, with its wealth destroyed, its fair manhood, which constituted its chief strength and hope cut down, society overthrown, whole families being wiped out of existence, and its civilization threatened with destruction.

The tax valuation in Tennessee in 1869, after four years of recuperation, was \$155,821,611 less than when the war began. The slave valuation in 1860 was \$114,976,374. Thus, in addition to the loss of the slaves, there was in 1869 an unrepaired loss of \$40,845,238.

The war forced every State bank, with the exception of the Northern Bank of Tennessee, at Clarksville, into liquidation. The banking capital, which, in 1860, was \$8,500,000, was almost annihilated.

But worse than all, society was upheaved, property owners were disfranchised, and the duties and responsibilities of citizenship were thrust upon a people just emerged from slavery. These emancipated people, without a dollar of their own, with all the crime, poverty, ignorance and disturbing conditions that were naturally incident to their sudden political transition, were precipitated upon the poorest, most wretched, and most disorganized section of the country.

Recuperation.

It was like making brick without straw, but the same heroism that sustained the people of Tennessee throughout those four years of blood, nerved them for the work of rebuilding their waste places. The gain up to 1870 was almost imperceptible, the population having increased from 1860 to 1870 only 13.4 per cent.

In that year the people of Tennessee got control of their own affairs.

From 1870 to 1880 the population increased 22.55 per cent., which was a greater ratio than that of any of the New England or Middle States, except Rhode Island and New Jersey.

From 1870 to 1890 the population increased 508,998. Of this increase that of the American born was 508,285.

In 1890, out of her entire population, there were only 1,486 persons of 10 years of age and over that could not speak English.

From 1880 to 1890, the white population increased 197,806, and for the same period the negro population increased 27,527.

Of her 20,029 foreign born population in 1890, 16,861 were of the Anglo-Saxon and Germanic blood.

Of her entire population in 1890, only 2,249 were aliens.

In 1890, Tennessee had more citizens who had been United States soldiers than did any of the New England States, except Massachusetts.

Tennessee is the State of the family and the home. Of her 334,194 families, 144,560 occupied their own homes, free of incumbrance.

There were only ten other States in the Union exceeding this figure, and none exceeding the percentage.

Of the 183,726 families occupying farms, 103,346 possessed their own, and free from incumbrance.

These figures are significant, and give eloquent and assuring promise for the future, when it is considered that the time may come, and at no distant day, when there will be a contest for the maintenance of American institutions. In that day their strength and perpetuity will depend upon the devotion of those who cling to them with hereditary love. In that day Tennessee will be a tower of strength to the nation.

The estimated value of all property in Tennessee, by the census of 1860, was \$493,903,892.

The census of 1880 showed the estimated value of all property in Tennessee to be \$705,000,000, thus showing a gain notwithstanding the losses by the war of \$211,000,000.

The estimated value of all property in Tennessee, by the census of 1890, was \$887,956,143.

The increase from 1880 to 1890 was 26 per cent. An increase at the same rate would make the value of all property in Tennessee in 1896, \$1,026,477,303.

From 1880 to 1890 the amount of capital invested in manufactures increased \$31,000,000, and the money paid to employees in them increased for the same period \$11,000,000.

In 1890 the percentage of all mortgages in force in the State was only 8.80 of the actual value of its property, and

there were thirty-two other States and Territories of the Union which had a greater percentage.

The average interest charged on these mortgages was only 6 per cent., while that of thirty-seven other States and Territories exceeded that rate, and many of them largely.

Her banking capital has increased from the close of the war from \$350,000 to \$21,000,000.

The capacity of her iron furnaces is 600,000 tons, which is a third more than the entire production of the United States in 1860. The census shows that from 1880 to 1889 there was an increase in the production of iron ore of 380,022 tons, and of coal of 1,430,558 tons. The last report of the Commissioner of Labor shows that, notwithstanding the business depression of 1895, as compared with 1889, the production of coal has increased 1,394,031 tons, and that the increase from 1894 to 1895 was 138,841 tons.

The increase in the production of coke in 1894, as compared with 1880, was 162,037 tons.

An increase even more striking took place in the development of the commercial demand for Tennessee marble, which, in variety, beauty, density, and crushing resistance is greater than that of any marble produced in the world, and for exposure to moisture and high temperatures surpasses granite. Within two years, a new industry, that of developing our phosphate deposits, has sprung up. In 1895, 49,000 tons were shipped. The attention of the world has been attracted to the high grade petroleum of this State, which is all the more sought for on account of the constantly decreasing output of other fields. Many wells are being sunk, and this promises to be a great source of prosperity and wealth to our State.

Notwithstanding the great financial depression, Tennessee had seventy-four less failures in 1895 than in 1894, with \$494,615 less liabilities. There was in the same period an increase of failures in a number of the Northern States.

The relations between labor and capital have been far more harmonious than in the North, and strikes have been few and not serious, and characterized by no lawlessness.

Liberal legislation protecting laborers has gone far toward

removing causes for friction, and producing this happy result.

Conclusion.

With such evidences of prosperity, with her genial climate, so equable in winter, so refreshing in the hottest summer, with the cool breezes fanning the broad bosom of her plateaus and her mountain ranges, with her lands of unsurpassed fertility, adapted to the greatest variety of production, with her 5,000 square miles of coal, inexhaustible stores of iron and marble, her 2,700 miles of navigable rivers, exceeding those of any other State in the Union, her vast forests of commercial timber, Tennessee proudly challenges the attention of the world, and throws wide open her doors, inviting the people of all countries to come and partake of her hospitality, study her institutions, the character of her people, and her natural resources, and all who will accept and uphold in their integrity American institutions, to cast their lot with us, and be partakers of the increasing prosperity, happiness and honor which the future holds in store.

While striving for material progress, mindful that it is not wealth, population and splendor that constitute the strength of a State, that moral and intellectual forces achieve the glory of a people, and that the maintenance of our institutions is our sheet anchor of safety, let us, in entering upon this new century, reverentially receive again, in solemn charge, the farewell words of the Sage of the Hermitage:

“You have the highest of human trusts committed to your care. Providence has showered on this favored land blessings without number, and has chosen you, as the guardians of freedom, to preserve it for the benefit of the human race. May he, who holds in his hands the destinies of nations, make you worthy of the favors he has bestowed, and enable you, with pure hearts, and pure hands, and sleepless vigilance, to guard and defend, to the end of time, the great charge he has committed to your keeping.”



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 014 649 453 5